

MUNICH UNIVERSITY: CLASS OF '50

A Case Study in German Re-Education

J. GLENN GRAY

THE sound of a wood-saw filled the winter air as I left the Ludwig Strasse and entered the grounds of the University. Students were reducing cordwood piled inside the main corridor into shorter lengths that would give some degree of heat to such classrooms as were left undestroyed by bombs. These men did not look like university students. Their ages were uncertain, not readily guessed from their faces. Their clothes were nondescript: parts of uniforms, worn civilian suits, carpenters' aprons, headgear of all shapes and sizes—except for the jaunty student caps of earlier times. There was no gaiety, no laughing or shouting, but hunched against the bitter January wind that cut through the university quadrangle, they worked silently and joylessly like laborers who wait for the end of the day.

Those Americans who have sentimental attachments to the grounds of the Ludwig-Maximilian Universitaet should avoid renewing them. Official reports have it that the University is approximately fifty per cent destroyed, but aesthetically the destruction is practically total. The imposing entrance from the Ludwig Strasse, with its large fountain, is a shambles, and inside the quadrangle the great Aula is demolished

THE core of the future of Germany lies with the minds of the Germans; and it is being increasingly recognized that the question of democratic re-education in that country is a crucial one. Here, J. GLENN GRAY, who was Military Government's education officer for Bavaria in the year 1946-47, offers a representative case history, in his description of life at the University of Munich, with its social and human implications. Dr. Gray was born in Mifflintown, Pennsylvania, in 1913, earned his doctorate at Columbia University in 1941, and is now assistant professor at Haverford College.

from a direct bomb hit. The library is now a dark basement room on the right side of the square. Only those lecture halls facing on the Amalien Strasse are comparatively intact, but exterior damage gives them, like everything else at this largest and most famous of South German universities, a comfortless, forbidding appearance. Place names have been changed once again since Hitler's demise, and one reads Sophie and Hans Scholl Platz, Huber Platz, etc., in memory of the University's newest martyrs, the seven who fell in the Student's Revolt against the Third Reich in 1942-43. Nowhere does the eye find a spot which is as it was, a pleasant corner to remind one of the past.

I used to climb the cold, grimy steps of the administration building and pass down the roofless corridor, where the mud-coated floor made it necessary to step from one brick to another. In the anteroom of the rectorate where I held weekly interviews, a group of students waited to see me. They stood up, removed their hats, and bowed in the stiff, ceremonious manner of Germans before a "superior." The rectorate was unheated and I did not remove my overcoat. In some mysterious fashion the secretary arranged the order of interviews. For two hours they followed one another and at the end of the period there were always many persons turned away. The requests were numerous and varied. To most I had to say "no" in one form or another, "no" throughout the whole year that I acted as control officer. But I tried to hear their laments to the end and to obtain some insight into the character of these young German men and women.

WHEN I first began these interviews in the fall of 1946, I found it difficult to pene-

trate the closed, expressionless faces which so many Germans wear like a mask. I suspected they concealed hostility and dark revengeful thoughts. But wider experience taught me that behind most of these masks lies only blankness: no hatred, little thought, only animal needs, and a blind groping after anything offering the slightest promise of a personal future. In philosophy of life, in matters of religion, in politics and social questions, the majority are quite neutral. The color of their convictions is gray, like life itself in most corners of Europe at present. What do convictions matter today? The things of significance are: When can I finish my studies? How can I manage to pass my state examinations? Where can I obtain that book? How do I get wood or coal for my room—food, clothes, money? How can I help my mother in the Russian Zone? When shall I be able to emigrate? Shall I be forever pestered with that accursed membership in the Hitler Youth and the Studentenbund? Why did I ever accept a rank in the Bund Deutscher Maedel? Can they hold such a minor rank against me?

As these young men and women slowly recover from the intolerable strain of the war and the shock of Germany's total ruin, there are some signs that they are painfully beginning to reconstruct their world of values. But the awakening is slow; the past has taught them to be wary and suspicious of credos; and the daily struggle for life in the bomb-jungle of Munich leaves little time for reflection. Consequently, it is idle to conclude very much about the political beliefs of students in Munich or, I think, in any other of the universities in the American Zone. They are in large part still unwon for one ideology or another. A few are convinced and struggling democrats, some are unrepentant Nazis or nationalists, a handful are Communists, but the large majority are neither one thing nor the other. They have not yet had time or opportunity to make up their minds.

Their confusion and the ambivalence of their feelings can be seen in their attitude

toward anti-Semitism. Of the elected student leaders to the postwar Student Council, at least two are half-Jewish and are generally known as persecutees. The same is true at the Munich Institute of Technology, where the president of the Student Council, one of the few student leaders known throughout the American Zone, is a Jewish persecutee. By virtue of character and personality they have persuaded their fellow-students to elect them, though persecutees as such are generally unpopular at Munich and throughout Germany. None of these Jewish students would claim that they have met with hostility in university circles because of their origin. Yet all would instantly deny that anti-Semitism has ceased to exist. Only their personal talents have put them beyond its reach for the time being.

One of the most popular of Munich's professors is an émigré Jewish scholar recently returned, Professor Erich Kauffman of the law faculty. He, too, assured me that he had met no sign of anti-Semitic prejudice among faculty or students, though he had no doubts such prejudice existed, particularly among the latter.

One of the Jewish students at Munich made a simple experiment. In lecture halls, he would sit beside girls and try to elicit their personal interest. Being an attractive youth, that proved not to be difficult. But when he revealed to them that he was Jewish, immediately the girls drew back, almost in fright he reported, and were, from that time on, friendly enough but definitely not interested. His explanation for their behavior was that these girls, remembering all too vividly the misery those women who married Jews had been exposed to in the Third Reich, wished to avoid similar complications. They did not trust their fellow countrymen or a future government to protect them.

ON ANY given day, a sizeable proportion of the people desiring to see me were not students at all, but those wanting to matriculate. I was their last hope. They

had stood in line for hours, day after day, before the doors of the appropriate officials in charge of matriculation at the University and at the Bavarian Ministry of Culture; they had tried this or that bit of influence through a faculty member—all to no avail. Of me they begged only a sentence on a slip of paper, stating that I had nothing against their enrollment. Experience had taught them that a word from an official of Military Government could work wonders in changing the attitude of their fellow Germans behind the desk.

Many of these petitioners actually deserved more consideration than they got. Some needed only one or two semesters to complete their work; they had families to support and were physically unfit for anything other than intellectual work. But in the first two semesters after reopening under the occupation, the University, lacking both administrative machinery and foresight, had overcrowded all the colleges with first comers, and now could take only the smallest fraction of those clamoring at its doors. In 1939, with facilities intact, the enrollment was about 4300; at present it is more than ten thousand. Nearly seven thousand were refused admission in each of the two semesters during 1946-47, with only a few hundred accepted.

Most persistent of these candidates were the former regular army officers, the Hitler Youth leaders, and party members. In their case the American control officer had a negative selective role in the sense that he had to determine who among them were objectionable to Military Government. Our directives actually barred only those members of the officer class who had obtained the rank of colonel or higher, but these directives also enjoined careful screening of officers in the lower ranks. Of Hitler Youth and Studentenbund leaders, those who had attained commissioned status were automatically excluded, but matriculation officials, after the first wave of uncritical admissions, had become cautious in admitting any who held Hitler Youth rank. As for party members, there was a stipulation that not more

than ten per cent of the total enrollment at any time may have belonged to the NSDAP.

These excluded students and would-be students are a problem to be reckoned with, not merely by the University, but by a future German government and the occupation authorities. These young, falsely indoctrinated Germans cannot be won to new forms of life simply by barring them from all educational institutions. On the other hand, it is obviously unwise and unjust to admit large numbers of them to the University: unwise because their collective weight might well choke the growth of a more liberal spirit there; unjust because they would be taking places away from unincriminated students.

MORE dangerous than the Hitler Youth leaders and the party members are, in my opinion, the former career officers. They are seldom politically compromised, because political membership and activities were not permitted in the armed services. Now robbed of a career that most of them chose voluntarily in the 30's, they seek to qualify for some profession which will save them from physical labor. Many of them have not the intelligence to justify a university course. Long years in professional military service make them even less likely to be won for democratic ways than the young ex-Nazis.

Furthermore, many former conscripted soldiers show strong resentment at the presence in classrooms of such officers. Yet they press upon the admission gates most insistently, sometimes arrogantly, and demand to know why they should not become students, being tainted with no political guilt.

American education officials, convinced that Germany's militaristic spirit is even more deeply rooted than the National Socialist ideology, have pressed for stringent directives to control these career officers. So far, their pressure has been ineffective. The purification courts charged with enforcing denazification laws do not reach any but the comparatively few who are guilty of

war crimes; all others receive the "not affected" cards. Informed German opinion will tell you that though many of the young Nazi leaders now believe that they followed false gods, the majority of professional officers regard the present merely as a waiting period of uncertain duration until they can resume their former careers. This element obviously requires the closest watch, to make certain that they gain little influence in public life.

AMONG my petitioners who were matriculated students, many came to plead the cause of dismissed professors. A denazification wave had hit the University in the middle of the winter semester and hundreds of students suddenly found themselves without any means of finishing important courses or taking examinations. In many cases the students were not informed of their professor's incriminating acts, and were, anyhow, not too concerned about his past. They thought only of the stored knowledge in the professor's mind which they needed to advance their careers, to enable them to rescue some of the lost years of their youth. Most were too fearful of an American official, too uncertain of their ground, or perhaps simply too demoralized, to state their complaints; they had heard of too many professors being dismissed and then shortly reinstated without explanation. Often they came in delegations, with long petitions signed by hundreds of students, the preambles of which pleaded in exaggerated phrases of respect that the august Military Government re-examine the dismissal of this or that professor.

It must be candidly admitted that a number of these dismissals required re-examination. I agree with Franz Neumann (COMMENTARY, June 1947) when he asserts that the universities should not have been reopened until the task of denazification had been completed. Before its reopening in the Spring of 1946, a large part of Munich University's staff was dismissed, almost wholly on the basis of questionnaires—the famous *Fragebogen* where memberships in

all major and minor Nazi-affiliated organizations had to be listed. When the unreliability of this method was demonstrated, Military Government reinstated a number of the dismissed staff members, or permitted German officials, who were given authority under the denazification law, to reinstate them. Then, as newly recruited education officers and Special Branch agents became aware of the past writings and activities of various professors, a new wave of Military Government dismissals came during the fall and winter of 1946-47. Without consulting the German authorities or the professors in question, they summarily dismissed thirty-three full professors and some fifty-odd instructors and assistants at the University of Munich alone. A large number of others were placed under investigation, but were allowed to continue teaching on a temporary basis.

The effect of this eccentric denazification has been crushing. Some professors have been in and out of office as often as three times in three years of occupation. All have been made uneasy and uncertain of their status, no longer convinced that the verdict of their own purification courts is significant, and fearful of what new rules will be promulgated. They are also aware that with all the denazifications, the University still has politically undesirable elements in comparison with whom many of the dismissed are "lily-white." Apart from these individual injustices, some of which are probably unavoidable and in the long run not so important, the havoc wrought on the student body by this inept policy is obvious. Until we can adopt a less arbitrary method of determining who is to teach, and can insure these young people some continuous instruction, however poor in quality, we have hardly begun the vital task of educational construction.

THE importance of this was constantly impressing itself upon me. I recall a girl who came to see me about a dismissed professor. She was a serious, sad-eyed medical student, whose poised and quiet manner

set her immediately apart from the ordinary student.

"First, if I may, a word about myself," she said. "I am part Jewish and my father was active in the Social Democratic party before 1933. My mother died in a concentration camp. The same fate befell my uncle. I also spent a short period in one of those institutions. My whole family suffered systematic persecution, partly because of their race, chiefly because of their liberal political views. This, just by way of orienting you and perhaps convincing you that I have no interest in defending a Nazi.

"I come in my own name, representing in reality no one (though all the medical students are of the same mind), to speak for our anatomy professor whom you took away from us. We cannot understand it. I happen to know this professor personally outside the classroom. He is a friend of our family. As you know, his wife is also Jewish. I know what you have against him—that he was for a short time in the SA and perhaps a candidate for the party. But have you taken into account that this man was persecuted in the Third Reich, was thrown out of the SA in 1934 and knew no moment of security until the end came? Do you realize that he is beyond any doubt one of the genuine liberal democrats on this faculty and was never in his heart anything else? I do not speak of the fact that he is a remarkable teacher and a scientist of reputation and distinction. That does not matter to you, and I understand why it should not. It does, however, matter to us who are students, who have enormous difficulties today and to whom he represents our only means of learning the basic facts about anatomy. There is no replacement for him. Since we do not have the necessary books, there is no possibility of recovering what we lose. However, this is an argument which I am ready to give up. I know that our universities must be rid of National Socialist influence. I think I am as interested in that goal as you. But in getting rid of this man, you are depriving the University of Munich of a genuine anti-Nazi,

a man who is on your side. Somehow I must convince you of this fact."

THERE was no question of her sincerity and honesty. Though I had nothing to do with the commission that had investigated this case and ordered the removal, I had informed myself of the circumstances, and felt constrained to defend the action.

"You must recognize," I said, "that we are trying to introduce the reign of law once more into Germany. For twelve years you were ruled by a regime that lived above the law. You know the consequences. Of one consequence you are perhaps not so keenly conscious as you should be. That is the fact that in these years the German people have come to regard all government as a rule of men instead of law. They try to live without recourse to law, but by recourse to special influence and personal contacts. Your professor was teaching here in disregard of the German Law for Liberation from National Socialism and Militarism. As a former SA and party member, he was subject to that law and yet he had done nothing to legalize himself."

This answer, the general force of which she recognized, did not satisfy her. "Is it not true that you would have removed our professor, even had he been legally employed, purely on the grounds of formal early membership, without any reference to what he really believes or what kind of man he is in his heart? I know how difficult it is for you Americans to discover the truth about us Germans," she continued. "No one is a Nazi nowadays, everyone is busy denying everything, protesting his innocence, showing what a bitter opponent of Hitler he was. It must really make Americans distrustful and cynical. In the end how can you believe any of us? But there must be some way to find justice. You must find some of us who are beyond suspicion and distrust, some who were here the whole time and who really know what the people were. Such mistakes as you are making must be avoided."

"There is no way of denazifying justly,

so far as I know," I answered. "There are only two possibilities. Either we start from a formal principle and judge according to membership in the party and party organization. Of course, this is very often unjust, since many firm Nazis were not in party organizations and many who were party members were in no sense Nazis. Or we try to judge according to inner conviction. This too brings injustice, for who can judge what a man is in his heart? Only he himself can do so, and we know how few Nazis stand ready to convict themselves. Do you think that your committee of trustworthy Germans could arrive at a unified opinion about the real Nazis and the non-Nazis? It is too much to hope or expect."

"Yes, it would be hard," she admitted, sorrowfully, "but still a way must be found. Otherwise we shall all become embittered and perish. Absolute justice is not to be found, but relative justice to a degree that we do not have today must be. Otherwise the future is hopeless."

"I can only quote you the well-worn lines of Schiller," I answered, "The very curse of an evil deed is that it must continue to engender evil."

But as the girl arose to go, dejected and discouraged, I had to recognize that my reasoning, correct and formal as it was, was not satisfactory. A closer approximation to justice must be found. The seeds of guilt and evil must not forever be replanted and tilled. The sins of the fathers had already been visited, and will continue to be visited, upon such students as this one. But to add needless suffering and to tolerate avoidable injustice would be to jeopardize the last hope and faith which these young people have. The grain of faith in young German hearts is too valuable. On its survival and growth much of the future depends.

ONE almost universal academic experience of the post-war world is also shared at Munich. Any professor there will tell you that the one enjoyable feature about his teaching is the students' thirst for knowledge, their unbounded eagerness to take

in everything that is said and, in spite of their great lack of factual knowledge, their surprising maturity. The long years in an impersonal, spirit-baiting army machine have given the veterans among them time and opportunity to value the pursuit of knowledge. And for the non-veterans, the impossibility of an education at home during the war years appears to have had a similar effect. In some of the Munich lecture halls the press of students is so great that the professor has to speak from the *Kathedr* with students an arm's length away. In the bitterest winter weather the classrooms were largely unheated. Both professors and students kept on hats and overcoats throughout the lectures. To a visiting American the impression left by these groups is not lightly forgotten. They testify to a fortitude in the pursuit of learning which many believed to have been almost eradicated from the German character.

Student living conditions further test that fortitude. Rooms are often bare and cheerless beyond description and, worst of all, located in the less destroyed outskirts of the city, necessitating a long daily ride on the packed street cars. This physical fact of distance gives them little opportunity to learn to know each other or to carry on any of the extra-curricular activities and interests which do much to create a university community. The *Mensa* is likewise no help in this respect. Only a fraction of the students can obtain meals there; waiting lines are long and eating shifts are timed. Neither the quality nor quantity of the food, nor the location of the *Mensa* in the cellar of a destroyed building, predisposes the students to sociability. The whole external aspect of this once famous university as well as the appearance of those who populate it remind the observer more of a badly-destroyed factory than of an institution of higher learning.

As Germany's hoarded food stocks are exhausted, more and more students find it necessary to resort to the black market. For the refugees among them and those away from home, there can no longer be any

question of living on the official ration. Some use their money saved during the war to purchase cigarettes (recently quoted at 120 marks per package on the black market) which they can barter for food. This usually demands long trips into the rural areas on foot, since German police are on the alert for such practices. Naturally, these conditions encourage the heartless and parasitic element: the pseudo-student who uses university matriculation as a cover for black market operations is a common phenomenon.

WHAT about the professors? Those who have escaped dismissal and the loss of their livelihood are physically better off for the most part than the students. Except for the newly appointed, they have their friends and connections in Munich and consequently ways of supplementing the food and fuel rations. Those whose homes have not been bombed or requisitioned have their private libraries where they can meet seminar students to whom they often loan out books. Unhappily, only a small percentage of the advanced students get an opportunity for such close contact with their professors. The distance between student and teacher is in most cases great; and no professor knows more than a handful of his students—those not intimately. It is not too much to say that the two live in separate worlds.

Because the majority of the teaching staff is old, they have grown to maturity in a social and cultural environment different from that of their students. Their interests are largely academic and scientific and the events of the past years have helped to drive them more and more inward. With the exception of a few active and convinced Nazis at Munich, not many gave assistance to the past regime. But fewer still resisted it with fervor and courage. The majority went through the motions, joined some of the organizations as passive, paying members in order to be let alone. To have their books published, some did written obeisance to the Fuehrer, usually at the beginning or end of their treatises, the location most ac-

cessible to party sycophants. Though German universities varied a great deal with respect to their allegiance to National Socialism, the worst that can be justly said about Munich is that its professors have been fatefully isolated from the social movements of the past decades. As a faculty, they tend toward an unreflective conservative nationalism today, as they did in the Third Reich and under the Republic. But they cannot be said to cherish even this tendency seriously. How often did I hear the refrain from many academicians at Munich: "I have never concerned myself with politics!" And it was not difficult to detect a note of pride in that confession, as if to say that the scholar who did have time to meddle with such messy things was of an inferior sort.

After observing these men in senate meetings, listening to them in lecture halls, and speaking to them as a guest in their homes, I am convinced that this estrangement from the everyday world—what the Germans call *Weltfremdheit*—is their common dominant characteristic. Their work must be supplemented in some way, somehow, by younger, aggressive, socially awakened teachers who will reach the students at their own level. For the German student has no ivory tower to enter, and the pursuit of knowledge is bound up for him with the search for a supportable future in a shattered, highly problematic society.

There is little in the present catalog of course offerings at Munich which takes account of modern needs and problems. In the liberal arts school, emphasis is still on classical studies, plus Egyptology and Sinology. The English department concentrates on Shakespeare, Milton, and the Romantics; the psychology department on courses in character types and analysis, outdated material largely philosophical in content. Political economy offerings are chiefly of a technical nature—on business administration, geography, forestry, and the like. Almost totally absent are courses in sociology, social and political theory, international law, modern history—fields of study which

directly or indirectly help to produce a responsible social consciousness.

THE rector, Professor Georg Hohmann, a distinguished orthopedist, agreed that something had to be done to liberalize this curriculum. Accordingly, at several senate meetings in 1947 he took the initiative in advocating courses in general education for all faculties, aimed at giving the students some sense of the chief problems in all fields. A *Dies Academicus* was instituted, an Academic Day once a week on which all other courses were suspended and lectures were delivered on general themes presumed to be of common interest. Under the pressure of professional objections that this program left inadequate time for specialized instruction, the *Dies Academicus* was shortened to a half day per week. In a recent semester, the University chose the general theme of politics, with various professors from all the faculties endeavoring to throw light on this theme from the standpoint of their fields. One of the main lecture series is on the Weimar Republic, about which present-day students know little.

How successful this experiment will be it is impossible to predict. Apart from the major difficulty of finding competent lecturers, the cherished German tradition of the students' elective freedom appears to be a stumbling block. Professors and students alike are opposed to compulsory attendance at such lectures—indeed at any lectures—and they are likewise opposed to requiring examinations in these courses. Traditional academic custom allows the student to choose whatever lectures and subjects of concentration appeal to him, a tradition all the more jealously guarded after the experiences of the Third Reich. To expect students who have lost so many years and are desperately concerned with specialized competency to concern themselves with a liberal education is to be overly sanguine.

A distinct step forward in the liberalizing of the University's structure has been the elimination of traditional discrimination

against Jewish professors. Even under the Weimar Republic, few Jewish scholars at Munich, or elsewhere, received full professorships unless they changed their faith and were baptized. Under Military Government, this old pattern has been broken. A few émigré Jewish scholars, some of whom never had any connection with Munich University, have returned to join the staff. Most of them are performing yeoman service in the remodeling of German education and at the same time helping to change attitudes instilled by the Third Reich. If the comments I have heard are worth anything, they are causing more Germans to feel the unspeakable shame of the past years than any number of atrocity pictures.

ON THE larger problem of bringing the University into closer relation with the community and drawing it away from its self-imposed isolation, the rector and a few others have made a beginning. Alarmed at the rush upon certain schools, notably the medical school, which accounts for nearly 50 per cent of Munich's ten thousand students, the University has made contact with the Bavarian Medical Association in an effort to determine approximately how many physicians can be profitably trained for the future. There is widespread fear of an "academic proletariat," unemployed intellectuals who would be fertile material for social unrest and revolution. Similar studies of future needs have been urged upon the Bar Association, the Economics Ministry, and other professional associations. Estimates in all these fields are naturally rendered fluid by the present division of Germany. For example, there is a great shortage of physicians in the Russian zone and inadequate numbers are being trained there. But it is anybody's guess as to whether doctors from the American zone will be allowed to practice there. However, the working relationship that has been established between the professors and their lay colleagues is a step in the right direction.

To meet the challenge of the new burdens that postwar Germany imposes on

the graduate, the University has just formed a *Curatorium* or advisory board, whose members will be drawn from representatives of fields other than the academic—unions, bar associations, business men, government officials, and the like. The function of this board will be to offer constructive criticism of courses, suggest new fields, and in general to modernize the curriculum. This American-sponsored reform is being handled cautiously by the University senate, which wishes to reserve the right to name the board and insists on its purely advisory character. There is widespread suspicion of American intentions and a persistent belief that we wish to lower the scholarly level of the University. Though there are protagonists of the modernization program, the weight of opinion among the older element of the faculty is against it. They oppose particularly the filling up of their decimated ranks from competent outsiders, young men of promise from the business world, the law, and government. These professors wish to reserve university precincts for the academically trained, the classically educated, and those able to pass the test of the qualifying essay, complete with all the footnotes.

Here lies the kernel of at least one, probably the chief, educational problem today. Are German universities to continue to be staffed with those whose interests are purely scholarly and scientific, teaching subject matter appropriate to "eternal values"? Or are they to be gradually transformed into functional and experimental institutions, sensitive to current affairs and aware of their responsibility in the development of social attitudes? Is the university to be regarded as primarily an oasis for the pursuit of truth and scientific research, or is it to have the wider pragmatic role of serving more immediate interests as well? At present the forces intent upon preserving the traditional role predominate, because the teaching staffs and the education ministries are weighted with age and conservatism. The American impact is naturally on the side of the newer functional role.

ON THE other hand, it cannot be said that there is entire unity of purpose on this crucial matter in the education branches of Military Government. Two educational philosophies exist there side by side as here at home, the one insisting upon a democratization of higher education with emphasis on method and general courses, the other persuaded that university training is within the competence of only the intellectually gifted minority, who are able to deal with abstract ideas and pursue technical investigations. The divergencies of these schools of thought have been pointed up by the recent report of the President's Commission on Education.

Protagonists of both philosophies are very active in Military Government and make their differences of opinion known to the Germans. Moreover, the radical reforms brought about on the Russian side of divided Germany, specifically by opening university doors to members of the laboring class regardless of secondary schooling, are also playing a role. As the tension between East and West continues to mount, those favoring the wider function for German universities in the American zone sometimes find themselves suspected of leftist heresy. It is, therefore, impossible to guess how effectively traditional patterns will be altered at Munich and elsewhere. All depends, in one way or another, on the larger political issue.

The student body is as yet on neither side. As the students awaken from the searing blows of the war and the defeat, they reveal a tendency to be bitterly critical of their professors and their Education Ministries. But they are no less critical of the American Military Government. On all the essential problems of their future, they are, as we have indicated, as yet undecided. One is often gripped these days by the conviction that the final, decisive battle for Germany was not waged three years ago on her borders, as the newspapers of the world alleged. It is being fought in the hearts of Germany's students with such inadequate forces as we possess. And the outcome is in deadly doubt.